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<th>Cogneau Denis</th>
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1. RESUME DE LA PROPOSITION DE PROJET / PROPOSAL ABSTRACT

Within the academic field of development economics, long-term history is back on the agenda, through econometric studies of European colonization that shed a new light on the obstacles to an economic development process. However, the main limitation of these studies stems from the lack of data on the colonial period itself, both on the side of implemented policies and, even more, on the side of people's living standards. This limitation implies that the channels through which colonial history matters are still not well known, and that analysis is plagued by some compression of historical time. The Afristory project proposes to make a substantial progress in quantitative knowledge about the economic history of French colonization, and in parallel, for comparative purposes, on some aspects of the British colonization in Africa. It also aims at producing original contributions to development economics, allowing to better specify the causal channels through which historical shocks exert a long-lasting influence on African economic trajectories. To be reached, these objectives require to start with a large program of data construction from existing archives, given that the lack of historical data constitutes the main obstacle to overcome. Indeed the shadow areas and the bias of the literature cannot only be explained by the absence of available and exploitable data, but at least as much by the lack of research efforts. The scientific program can be decomposed in three tasks. The first task is devoted to colonial investment in the French colonial Empire (Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Indochina), and to some comparisons with British Africa. An extensive data collection in the colonial administrative archives will fill the blatant gaps existing in the objective knowledge of the cost and financing of colonial investment between 1850 and 1960. The second task touches upon a domain where quantitative data is extremely scarce: the living standards of indigenous populations under colonial rule and their evolution over the long run. It mainly relies on the collection and analysis of large samples of individual files from the archives of the French colonial conscription, as well as on the exploitation of similar micro-data from British African regiments. The third task matches these first-hand colonial data with contemporary data on formerly colonized regions, at a very disaggregate level (small areas). It builds and statistically assesses analytical narratives about the impact of colonial rule in Africa, on various dimensions of development, by exploiting a number of natural experiments offered by historical experience. This alliance between history and economics of development seeks to exploit some comparative advantages of European research, stemming from a better access to the colonial archives and to the African fieldwork, as well as from a long tradition in quantitative history. Apart from academic objectives, we also hope that these pieces of knowledge will help the public debate, whether at the national or international level, about the consequences of the colonial past for the former colonizers, for the former colonized, and for the construction of their future relations.
2. **CONTEXTE, POSITIONNEMENT ET OBJECTIFS DE LA PROPOSITION / CONTEXT, POSITIONNING AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROPOSAL**

2.1. **CONTEXTE DE LA PROPOSITION DE PROJET / CONTEXT OF THE PROPOSAL**

Most of the regions that make part of the developing world, in Africa, Asia, and America, were colonized by European countries at one point of their history, between the 16th and the 20th centuries. The consequences of this European colonization are long lasting, not only for the historical trajectories of these regions, but also for present-day international relations. For Europe, the challenges raised by the settlement and integration of migrants coming from former colonial empires on the one hand, by the reform of political and economic relationships with independent countries stemming from these empires on the other hand, urge to take in charge the colonial past memory while finding the way toward a new Enlightenment universalism. In France, the postcolonial question has made a comeback in the public debate in the last few years, as the quantity of books dedicated to the French colonial experience and a number of elements of political and even legislative debate testify. For southern countries, colonial history still carries weight with the fundamentals of economic development: trade structure, foreign firms’ role, brain drain, international aid transfers, legal framework, institutions.

However, the scientific analysis of colonization, and hence the national and international public debates on colonial legacy, are still not well-informed, in comparison with what the contents of historical archives would allow.\(^1\) Quantitative data for this period remain short and fragmented. This kind of deficit imposes strong limitations to the economic analysis of colonization from the standpoint of the former colonial powers as well as from the one of formerly colonized countries. However this deficit is not a fatality, as archives do exist in large numbers but have simply not been extracted and compiled.

In development economics as in economic history, researchers working on colonization are a small population, even at the international level, for some reasons that would be long to elucidate, but having in particular to do with the history of the two sub-disciplines. A research project funded by an “action concertée incitative” (ACI) of ministry of Research between 2003 and 2006 has gathered a small team on the topic "Long-term History and Distribution of Resources in Africa", dedicated to the study of inequalities in Africa and to the historical origins of these inequalities. This project led to a first investigation in the archives of the French colonial administration, and produced a series of results on the cost of

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\(^1\) The "postcolonial studies" analyze the persistence of the colonial fact in the making of identities and of social relations in the contemporary world. It little contributes to document the colonial period *per se*. The impact of colonization on the well being of inhabitants during the colonization and of contemporaneous economic development of former colonized countries is outside its scope. [For a critical reading, cf. Cooper, 2005].
colonial rule and on the impact of colonial public expenditures in Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF -French West Africa), on the differences between former French and former British colonies in Africa, and on the influence of colonial borders on national integration in Cote d'Ivoire and its neighbors [cf. Cogneau*, 2007, for a first synthesis].\(^2\) These results are discussed in more details later in this proposal. The Afristory project gathers again part of the original team and welcomes other researchers encountered since then.

Within the academic field of development economics, long-term history is back on the agenda since the beginning of the 2000s, thanks in particular to the influential papers of Daron Acemoglu and coauthors [2001, 2002], that tried to show how the very conditions of colonization had shaped the institutions of colonized regions, and hence their growth potential. More generally perhaps, the importance of long-term factors like geography is discovered again, directly through climate change and global warming issues, but also more indirectly through the interaction between natural endowments and economic history [e.g., Diamond, 1997 & 2005]. Apart from a straightforward interest for the consequences of colonization, these works shed a new light on the prerequisites of the take-off of an economic development process, following the route opened by Douglass North [e.g., North, Wallis & Weingast, 2006]. They also find some echo in economic history works that carry on analyzing the “rise of the West”, i.e. the industrial revolution in Europe [Pomeranz, 2000; Greif, 2006; Clark, 2007; Allen, 2009], while putting this event into a worldwide and comparative narrative. These works on colonization consequently benefit from a large international audience, in development economics as well as in economic history, and also in connected sub-disciplines like political economics and public economics. In the lineage of Acemoglu et al. articles, the works reviewed by Nunn [2009] share a concern for the statistical and econometric inference of causality; indeed, the methods they implement succeed in revealing a significant influence of long-term history on development, in a more convincing manner than previous attempts, as they rely on local natural experiments rather than on broad-brush macroeconomic correlations. From now on, much research is still warranted in order to elucidate the causal channels that account for this influence that can be institutional, technological or cultural.

By standing at the intersection of development economics and economic history, our project hopes to bring new data and new analyses to the interdisciplinary community of researchers working on developing countries or non-Western areas, but also to those who are interested in the various dimensions of the relationship between industrialized and developing countries (trade, foreign investment, aid, migrations, etc.). These pieces of knowledge will help the public debate, whether at the national or international level, about the consequences of the colonial past for the former colonizers, for the former colonized, and for the construction of their future relations.

\(^2\) A star indicates that the referenced author is a member of the project.
2.2. ÉTAT DE L'ART ET POSITION DE LA PROPOSITION DE PROJET / STATE OF THE ART AND POSITIONING OF THE PROPOSAL

The AFRISTORY project refers to three research topics, the colonial public and private investments (a), the living standards of the populations during the colonial era (b), and the long-term impact of history on development (c).

a. The colonial public and private investments

The question of the costs and benefits of colonization for France and its colonies has been largely debated in France recently, since the parliament adopted a law imposing that the positive role of colonization would be explicitly recognized in French history textbooks (February 23th, 2005). Opinions on the costs and benefits of colonization diverge dramatically. On the one hand, some scholars claim that colonies were very expensive for French taxpayers since the metropole funded large public investments in education, health and infrastructure in the colonies (Bloch-Lainé, 1956; Jeanneney, 1963; Marseille, 1984; Lefebvre, 2006). On the other hand, some scholars claim that French productive sectors benefited greatly from colonial experience thanks to low cost imports, especially agricultural imports and a protectionist commercial policy which gave a large advantage to French exports to the colonies (Emmanuel, 1969; Vanhaeverbeke, 1970; Amin, 1971; Amin, 1973). A number of recent history books denounce the more general extractive strategy of France in the colonies, which affected not only the colonial economy but also colonial politics, and shaped poor quality governance and institutions (Ferro, 2003; Liauzu, 2004; Le Cour Grandmaison, 2005; Blanchard, Bancel et Lemaire, 2005; Manceron, 2005).

Both views are supported by little and incomplete evidence and leave a large share to opinion and interpretation. A team of French economic historians, supervised by Jean Bouvier and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, collected colonial budget data. François Bobrie and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch produced some evidence on the financial transfers between the metropole and the colonies, but unfortunately the analysis remained incomplete (Bobrie, 1976; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1973 and 1982). Jacques Marseille has been credited as the one who provided a final answer to the question of the cost of colonization for French taxpayers when he published his dissertation in 1984 (Marseille, 1984). Regarding French colonization, this work indeed constitutes the first and last attempt to provide a global quantification of colonial investment and finance. However, it is not entirely satisfactory for many reasons. First, it focuses on costs and benefits for the metropolis only and does not pay attention to the transfers from the colonies. Second, it uses indirect data on public expenditures, taking the deficit of the balance of payment as a transfer from France to the colonies, which is highly imprecise and debatable. Third, Marseille’s work does not cover the whole period but focuses on the 1950s. Finally, it does not differentiate among French colonies while it is well-known that Algeria did not experience the same colonization as, say, Cameroon. New insights in the colonial costs and benefits are therefore needed, and Huillery* [2009b] is a first attempt to fill the gap. Her work disputes Marseilles’ conclusions.
by showing that the cost of colonization was pretty low for French taxpayers, while very high for African people.

Regarding United Kingdom, the great book of Davis and Huttenback [1986] on the political economy of empire between 1860 and 1912 is particularly well-documented, but does not cover the African colonial period and still holds a metropolitan standpoint. Away from this latter standpoint, the works of the economic historian Gareth Austin [2005] on Ghana make a much valuable source, but do not provide a systematic account of colonial investment.

AFRISTORY therefore proposes to address the lack of systematic and comprehensive data on colonial public investments by extending the work done for AOF by Elise Huillery during her PhD to the rest of the French empire, as well as to the British empire.

b. The living standards of populations during the colonial era

The evolution of the living standards of populations during the colonial period remains widely unknown, with the noticeable exception of India again. A few works are beginning to remove this veil of ignorance for Africa by exploiting the individual files of military recruits in Ghana and in Kenya [Moradi*, 2009; Austin, Baten & Moradi*, 2009]. On the French side, the conscription files that we intend to use have never been exploited; only aggregate data on the drafting of the "Tirailleurs Sénégalais" have yet been studied, by historian Myron Echenberg [1991]. Another historian like Frederick Cooper [1996 & 2002] proposes very rich comparative analyses on French and British colonies of Africa, in particular in the field of labor issues, but mostly centered around the decolonization moment.

A preliminary work of Cogneau* et Rouanet* [2009] exploited the only presently available data that allow tracing back the evolution of height stature during the late colonial period in Africa: a series of household surveys conducted in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana between 1985 and 1989 in which the height stature of adult individuals has been measured. The use of height as an indicator of nutrition and health during early childhood refers to a large literature in physiology [e.g., Eveleth & Tanner, 1976; Bogin, 1999] as well as in economics and quantitative history [Fogel, 1993; Komlos & Baten, 2004; Steckel, 2008; Deaton, 2007; Heyberger*, 2009c, 2010, 2011c, 2011d, 2011e]. Even when corrected for bias linked to differential mortality and old-age shrinking, these retrospective data point to a considerable increase in stature for cohorts born in Côte d’Ivoire between 1925 and 1960. The annual rate of increase of height is close to that of 20th century metropolitan France or Great-Britain [Fogel, 1994]. Cogneau* and Rouanet* match survey data with colonial data on the district of birth of individuals, and relate this progress of stature to the dynamics of urbanization and of cocoa production. The impact of health investments [Huillery’s data 2008] seems important but its econometric identification is limited by the small sample size due to the short geographical extension of survey data, restricted to Cote d’Ivoire. At the level of AOF as a whole, Huillery* [2009a] shows that contemporary spatial inequalities in child stunting still bear the imprint of early colonial investments in health (1910-1928), unfortunately surveys in other countries excepting Cote d’Ivoire did not measure height for adults, this
precluding a dynamic analysis. Last, the same kind of retrospective survey data for Ghana also reveals a significant, although more modest, increase in height of 1925-1960 cohorts. This result is consistent with those obtained from colonial military data for this country [Austin, Baten & Moradi*, 2009].

AFRISTORY therefore proposes to document the question of the living standards of Africans during the colonial period by extracting data from French military records (height stature evolutions, but also migration flows and diversification of occupation).

c. The long term impact of history on development

The recent economic literature on development puts forward historical causal channels, whether institutional, technological or cultural, whose empirical assessment requires additional data and thorough econometric evaluation. For instance, the widely cited seminal articles from Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson stress the role of European settlement. In regions where the mortality risk for settlers was low, Europeans settled permanently in large numbers and this allowed for some economic development to take place [2001]. Conversely, a high indigenous population density restricted European settlement and favored extractive colonization based on forced labor and fiscal extortion, paving the way for a "reversal of fortune" in initially densely populated and more urbanized regions [2002]. European settlement is certainly a very important factor of differentiation, in particular among the Americas. However, the institutional interpretation proposed by Acemoglu et al. is still debated, other authors having raised the human capital or technology brought by settlers as an alternative channel [Glaeser et al., 2004; Feyrer and Sacerdote, 2009; Huillery*, 2010].

The almost equally famous thesis of historians Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff [2002], explaining the divergence between North America and South America by natural endowments and by the inequality generated by southern production systems, is also contested on the grounds of historical evidence, the argument being that inequality only became high in the second half of the 19th century, that is, strictly speaking, during the postcolonial period [Williamson, 2009]. The chain of causation going through land inequality is also questioned by recent contributions of Acemoglu et al. [2008] on Colombia, and Dell [2009] on Peru. In the case of Africa where colonization stricto sensu lasted less than a century, the historian Jeffrey Herbst [2000] contends that it mainly resulted in the creation of artificial national entities, made intangible by the United Nations guaranty of international borders, where State authority and control could be difficult [see also Englebert, Tarango & Carter, 2002; Alesina, Easterly & Matuszewski, 2006].

Other very recent works of economists however suggest that colonial legacy is not limited to artificial borders [e.g., Feyrer & Sacerdote, 2009, on islands]. In contrast with the initial contributions of Acemoglu et al., they focus on specific regions (in Latin American, Asia or Africa) as well as on specific policies (slave trade, forced labor, taxation, etc.), and use more disaggregated data, at the regional or the individual level. They deal with the choices made by the British in terms of administration and taxation, especially in India [Banerjee & Iyer,
2008; Iyer, 2009; Chaudhary, 2009] but also in Nigeria [Berger, 2009]; with French public expenditures in AOF [Huillery*, 2009a]; with forced labor in Latin America [Bruhn & Gallego, 2008] or particularly in Peru [Dell, 2009]; with sugar-cane and gold cycles in Portuguese Brazil [Naritomi, Soares & Assunção, 2009]; with the land titling policies in Philippines under US occupation [Iyer & Maurer, 2008]. Beyond the colonial period strictly defined, Nunn [2008] and Nunn and Wantchekon [2009] attribute to the Atlantic slave trade a high responsibility in the bad quality of institutions and the level of mistrust in Africa. Most of these works convincingly establish a strong causal relationship between some types of colonial policies and the contemporary level of development. They almost always exploit some spatial variation in the intensity and/or the modalities of the colonial intervention. Their main limitation however resides in the time dimension, due to the lack of data on the colonial period itself, both on the side of implemented policies and, even more, on the side of people’s living standards. This limitation implies that the channels through which colonization exerted its influence are still not well known, and that analysis is plagued by some “compression” of historical time [Austin, 2008]. This crucial handicap could be relaxed by more quantitative historiography. Unfortunately, the quantitative economic and social history of colonized regions is still in its infancy. At the last World Economic History Congress (Utrecht, July 2009), in spite of the keynote conference of Daron Acemoglu, very few sessions or communications were dedicated to developing countries, India standing as an exception.

While the differences in strategy and style between the French and the British are very often mentioned [e.g. Firmin-Sellers, 2000], the resulting differences between colonized regions remain very little explored. Many references instead emphasize the similarities stemming from the general character of the colonial intrusion [Acemoglu et al., 2001 & 2002], or from the prominence of pre-colonial structures [Herbst, 2000], or else of geography. There is nonetheless a large strand of comparative economics that studies the institutional transpositions linked to the national identity of colonial powers, like for instance the contrasted systems of civil law and common law [Glaeser & Shleifer, 2002]; the quantitative analyses on this topic are still limited to some badly controlled correlations [La Porta et al., 1999]. On the African example, which constitutes the better playing field for this kind of French-British comparison, our preliminary works seem to show that colonial power identity does not impact that much development outcomes averages but rather their distribution [Bossuroy & Cogneau*, 2008; Cogneau* & Mesplé-Somps*, 2008].

AFRISTORY therefore proposes to exploit the big data collection effort done on colonial investments and policies to precise the channels through which the colonial era exerts its influence on current development. It will devote the same effort on both the British and the French colonization in order to allow for many comparisons that are not possible so far due to the lack of precise and quantitative data in both the French and the British Empire on policies, taxations, investments, colonized populations’ agency etc.
2.3. Objectifs et caractère ambitieux et/ou novateur de la proposition de projet / Objectives, originality and/or novelty of the proposal

The AFRISTORY project will fill several knowledge gaps. On the one hand, it will improve the economic analysis of colonization by building two quantitative database, a first one on public and formal private investments in Sub-Saharan Africa (and probably in North Africa and Indochina) of former French and British colonizers, and a second one on the living standards of African populations during the colonial period. On the other hand, our project will contribute to the debate on the causal channels between colonization period and contemporaneous development of former colonized countries. Our empirical strategy relates to the econometric standards that have become the norm in this domain. Furthermore, in comparison with previous works, the availability of changes across time of both policies and outcomes will allow to exploit a higher number of potential natural experiments in order to identify channels of causation.

The alliance between history and economics of development seeks to exploit some comparative advantages of European research, stemming from a better access to the colonial archives and to the African fieldwork, as well as from a long tradition in quantitative history.

The first challenge of the AFRISTORY project is the large compilation of data on financing and colonial investment in the whole French empire

The project will start with a large program of data construction from existing archives, given that the lack of historical data constitutes the main obstacle to overcome. Indeed the shadow areas and the bias of the literature on colonization cannot only be explained by the absence of available and exploitable archives, but at least as much by the lack of research efforts that are dedicated to them. Our previous works and preliminary results show that it is possible and desirable to enlarge data collection on a wide scale so as to reach a sufficient level of generality in the analysis.

The existing syntheses on the financial cost of the French colonies are either imperfectly documented or incomplete, and hence partly biased (cf. supra; this is also true of British colonization). One of our objectives is thus precisely to draw a more complete table of public expenditures and their financing in the whole former French empire between 1850 and 1960. In the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, the disaggregated data already collected for West Africa (AOF) by one of the members of this project (E. Huilery) will be complemented with the cases of Equatorial Africa (AEF) and Madagascar, while for the rest of the empire (Afrique du Nord and Indochine), the collection effort will stay at a more aggregated level. The implementation of a common methodology on British archives will allow establishing a few relevant comparisons with the British Empire in Africa.

The second objective of the AFRISTORY project is the analysis of the standard living of indigenous populations during the colonial period
Colonial investments are one thing; the standards of living of indigenous populations are another. Regarding this latter aspect, military archives are the only source that allow for a large coverage of space and time. The French ones, to which we have recently been granted access by the ministry of Defense, have never been exploited. For the eight colonies of former AOF, they contain one million individual conscript files for the cohorts born between 1880 and 1940. These individual files allow measuring for the first time migrations, diversification of occupations, health and anthropometric outcomes, for large samples of male Africans. Here again, a similar data collection of British army indigenous recruits, already completed in Ghana and Kenya by Alexander Moradi*, will allow making French-British comparisons.

Other kinds of data related to the colonial period economic and political context will be gathered to complement our two aforementioned central data sources: political climate and conflicts from colonial administrators’ reports, trade and development of new productions, transportation networks and urbanization, etc.

These large compilations of administrative, military, political and economic data will be gathered in a documented database, delivered to public access at the end of the project in 2015. Its descriptive analysis will lead to a book dedicated to the French colonization and published in French and English. Additional quantitative data on colonization constitute a public good in itself, both for research and for societal debates where this period of history is involved (immigration, North-South relations, world governance, etc.). It is worth emphasizing again that such a systematic collection is a world premiere as it will mean the retrieval of administrative documents that in most cases have never been exploited.

Finally, the third objective of the project is to better understand the imprint left by the colonial period on former African countries.

As far as the analysis of development is concerned, the imprint left by the colonial period is not limited to investments undertaken, and goes far beyond the welfare of populations living under colonial rule. Moreover, the assessment that "history matters" is not enough, even if it makes a necessary first step. One must then explain how and why. Indeed, the shock of colonization puts into play a considerable number of changes. These changes do not only amount to a "modernization" of "traditional" societies through accelerated urbanization, spread of writing skills, improvement of hygiene norms, or openness to trade. Colonization violently disturbs pre-colonial political economy, defines new territories and new frontiers, forces the emergence of new ethnic or social groups, displaces populations and breaks previous demographic regimes, and ultimately modifies the distribution and the returns of agents’ political and economic resources. It is not only the respective magnitude but also the time sequence of these changes that it is important to know better.

In this sequence, the agency of colonized populations, which did not passively undergo the shocks, probably represents a fundamental factor. For instance the hostility of populations refrained the settlement of Europeans in some areas that were relatively more prosperous at the beginning, and consequently limited colonial investment there [Huillery*,
Second example, the expansion of cocoa production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana derived almost exclusively from the action of indigenous landlords; it has been a main determinant of urbanization in both countries [Jedwab*, 2010], and of the raise in height stature and literacy between 1925 and 1960 [Cogneau* & Rouanet*, 2009]. Another example could involve the contrasted evolution of African political elites under French "assimilationist" and British "segregationist" rules, related to the characteristics of the educational systems [Cogneau*, 2007; Bossuroy et Cogneau*, 2008].

The challenge as well as the originality of our analysis will be to combine data on colonial policies and investments with data on African populations across time - including data on the postcolonial period and contemporary outcomes, in order to produce statistically validated analytical narratives giving account of some of the historical paths through which colonization still weights on contemporary outcomes. In comparison with previous literature, it will try to "decompress" history [Austin, 2008] and to assess the respective importance of alternative channels of influence: institutional, technological or cultural [Nunn, 2009]. These analytical narratives will be published in scientific articles, mainly in English language.

### 3. PROGRAMME SCIENTIFIQUE ET TECHNIQUE, ORGANISATION DE LA PROPOSITION DE PROJET / SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRAMME, PROPOSAL ORGANISATION

#### 3.1. PROGRAMME SCIENTIFIQUE, STRUCTURATION DE LA PROPOSITION DE PROJET / SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMME, PROPOSAL STRUCTURE

This scientific program will aim at drawing the most complete picture of economic aspects of French colonization in Sub-Saharan Africa, on both the "supply" side (colonial policies and investments) and the "demand" side (African populations welfare and behavior). Starting from this picture, it wishes to conduct a series of analyses on the colonial and postcolonial trajectories of African societies, and about the processes giving account of why history, and in particular colonization, matters. This constitutes our central objective, around which all the tasks described in detail thereafter are organized, whether of data collection or of data analysis.

The will to undertake revealing comparisons leads us to go beyond our focus on former French Sub-Saharan Africa, towards the rest of the French colonial empire on the one hand (Afrique du Nord and Indochine), and towards the British colonial empire in Africa on the other hand (Western and Eastern mainly). Given the high costs associated to historical archive exploration, this geographical extension will be limited in scope, and regarding new data collection will remain as much as possible at an aggregate level: main economic and financial data at the colony level. It will however take advantage of some already collected data, like one on British army military recruits.
The program can be decomposed in three tasks (plus the task 1 that describes the coordination of the project). Up to some point, the tasks 2 and 3 will be conducted in parallel. The task 2 will be devoted to colonial investment and its financing in the French empire, with some comparisons with the British. The task 3 will be to delve into the living standards of African populations under French colonial rule, along with other colonial outcomes like political climate, trade, production and urbanization. Drawing from the data collected in the two first tasks as well as from first stage analyses, the task 4 will match these data with contemporary data on formerly colonized regions and will build and statistically assess analytical narratives about the impact of colonial rule in Africa, on various dimensions of development.

3.2. DESCRIPTION DES TRAVAUX PAR TACHE / DESCRIPTION BY TASK

3.2.1 TASK 1: PROJECT COORDINATION

The project management will raise two main challenges, first the organization of extensive data collection in archives, second the building and documentation of the databases for analysis and public delivery after 2015.

The extraction, codification and entry of archive data, whether from administrative or military sources, will involve a lot of temporary research assistance workforce for which the ANR funding is most needed. The coordinator and some other members of the team are already quite used to the monitoring of this kind of tasks. A first rule is that research assistants will be sent to the archives only after the archives have been scrutinized by at least one member of the team. Team members will go through a whole trial process of picture taking, sample designing, data codification and entry, and will produce written guidelines, to which research assistants will be trained. Data collection guidelines already exist for part of the second and third tasks, having already been set by Huillery's previous work in administrative archives, and the first investigation of military archives done by Cogneau, Heyberger and Moradi since May 2008 (see thereafter). All steps will be carefully documented so that the process of data construction can be deemed reproducible, starting from the raw archives up to the statistical databases available for econometric analysis. Hence, hired research assistants will have to show a good understanding of the research purposes, good skills in statistics and social sciences (economics or history), and also will have to demonstrate some capacity of initiative, as with historical archives not all cases can be entirely set out in advance. As training is costly, a preference will be given to long-term research assistance that is to individuals who will be available during the whole period needed to complete the task. As much as possible, people having other incentives than money earning will also be preferred: students interested in getting training in that kind of data collection, or having the objective of doing their master thesis or part of their PhD with the data collected. Research assistants will be screened by formal interviews with the coordinator (Cogneau) and the task supervisor (Huillery for task 2, Heyberger for task 3 and Mesplé-Somps for task 4); they will be first hired for a trial period of a few weeks, and then
recruited for the completion of the task if quantity and quality are satisfactory. The control of quality and the standardization of data will be done by the task supervisors with the help of another team member.

Once data collection completed, analysis will be rather decentralized, with two or three researchers teams working with the data they have contributed to construct (tasks 2 and 3) and on topics or areas they are more interested with (task 4). Full data completion will not of course be waited and first analyses will start as soon as relevant data is available for some area; indeed, this kind of first analyzes is most helpful if only for quality control purposes. As the team is rather scattered across a few sites in Paris (PSE, Sciences-Po, UMR DIAL, IEDES-Paris-1) as well as out of Paris (Belfort, Eastern France; Sussex, Southern England), even if all members already know each other and have started common works, some additional coordination effort will be needed. A Website will be put in place with a password-protected platform for literature and datasets exchanges between members, and with publicly accessible pages that will make the project visible by giving a follow-up account of its advances. Along the three years and a half of the project, five physical meetings will be organized in Paris with the participation of all members, and of research assistants. These meetings will be a bit formalized thanks to the presence of one or two external advisors who will be asked to listen to a summary of project advances and further steps and to provide critical comments.

3.2.2 TASK 2: THE FRENCH AND BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

Objectives

This task is meant to fill the blatant gaps existing in the objective knowledge of the intensity and the modalities of French colonial investment in the empire, between 1900 and 1960. Its aim is to make a significant progress in objective knowledge on economic dimensions of colonization: policies implemented, fiscal expenditures, taxation and transfers, public and private investments;

It starts from the administrative data already collected on French West Africa (AOF) in Elise Huillery* PhD thesis [2008], and enlarges this data collection along three dimensions: the first one is space, the second one is time, and the third one is private actors. Before this previous work, nobody could tell the level of public expenditures in whatever colony of AOF in a given year, how many nurses or teachers were paid by the State, how much was spent to build roads, and how these expenditures were financed, by taxes levied on populations, internal or external trade, or by transfers received from the metropolis. The data gathered by Huillery* show in particular that public investment in this part of the empire has remained very low until the Post-War period, while being largely financed by local taxes, and mainly the poll tax. However, without additional data, we cannot know whether this result can be generalized to other important parts of the Empire: in Sub-Saharan Africa, the French Equatorial Africa (AEF) and Madagascar; elsewhere, the North Africa colonies, in particular
Algeria, and Indochina. (In terms of population, Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole represented one third of the French empire, North African and Indochina weighting each one another third.)

Hence, along the spatial dimension, this first task will consist in collecting the same kind of data as for AOF. Spatially disaggregated data at the level of colonial districts will be collected for AEF and Madagascar, in order to be able to link this data with the one collected on living conditions in the second task. For the other areas of the French empire (North Africa and Indochina), only aggregate data will be gathered; however, with regards to Algeria, we will probably need to go back as early as 1850 in order to reach a complete view of French colonial investment. A second geographic extension of data collection will include a few African British colonies for comparative purposes; we will limit ourselves to the Western and Eastern parts of the African British Empire: Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania; and here again only the aggregate level will be aimed at, perhaps with some exceptions like Ghana.

Along the time dimension, some data on postcolonial finance will be gathered, if only to know to what extent the public debts of some colonies with respect to the metropolis have been honored after 1960. This latter aspect is of course of some importance for large Post-War loans that were still pending at the time of independence, and whose reimbursement or else cancellation by independent States could have some impact on the financial balance between the empire and the metropolis.

Finally, along the private actors’ dimension, we will gather data on French firms having invested in Africa. This thematic extension will aim at reconciling the budgetary data of Huillery* type [2009b & 2008] with balance of payment data used by Jacques Marseille [1984], part of the difference between the two sources being private investment flows (but also, alternatively, domestic savings). Likewise, the extent to which metropolitan firms have been expropriated after independence will be considered.

Persons in charge

Elise Huillery (Sciences-Po) will be responsible for the first task. As for data collection, she will coordinate the research assistants who will extract and compile the public and private financial data on the investments of the French State. As already mentioned, the public finance data for Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) have already been collected by Huillery and research assistants between 2003 and 2007, thanks to the funding of a ministry of Research ACI. This previous data collection exercise will provide the basic guidelines for the rest of the French Empire.

Methodology and risk

This thorough historiography of economic and social facts is inspired from the tradition of "école des Annales" in France and also from the comparative works pertaining to the contemporary strand of "World History". This quantitative exercise will of course build upon the great general references that are available about the history of Africa [Suret-Canale,
1962; Ki-Zerbo, 1972; Coquery-Vidrovitch & Monniot, 1974; Curtin, 1978; M'Bokolo, 1992; Iliffe, 1995].

Most of the work of this task will be to collect administrative data in several Record Offices: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Archives Nationales (Paris), Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer (CAOM) in Aix-en-Provence (Southern France), archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris), the archives of the Ministry of Finance (Paris again), National Archives in London, Record Office of Congo (Brazzaville) and Madagascar.

Guidelines will be provided by the coordinator of this task to research assistants. Regular meetings of the team will be planned.

Apart from archive extraction and raw data entry, this task will also involve a process of standardization for comparative purposes. The gathered data will be harmonized and cleaned up by the person in charge of this task, and technical notes indicating methodological choices will be written for each kind of data collected. The documentation of the database dedicated to the French colonial empire public finance (including the comparison group of British African colonies) will be provided with the database that will be delivered to the public in 2015.

Given its ambition and its scope, this task has a very large cost in terms of research assistance for the extraction, entry and construction of exploitable statistical datasets. Without the ANR funding, we cannot afford undertaking such a task. Besides, it would not be worth doing it at a more modest scale, given economies of scale and the benefits expected from a broad general view.

Detailed schedule

Archive extraction

The bulk of archive extraction will take place at Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). For Afrique Equatoriale Française (AEF) and Madagascar, going to other locations should be needed only exceptionally, for instance if some old documents are found in a bad state at the BNF: Archives Nationales (Paris), or Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer (CAOM) in Aix-en-Provence (Southern France). In case of need, two weeks of mission to Brazzaville (Congo), where the general government of AEF was settled, and to Antananarivo (Madagascar) are planned. Regarding these two areas, we will try to collect district-level data as much as possible, but if such a detailed compilation turns out to be too costly, it will be only implemented in the two colonies where such an effort is probably the most worthwhile, given the availability of other interesting colonial and postcolonial data, i.e. Cameroon and Madagascar.

For North Africa and Indochina, only aggregate public finance data will be collected anyway. Regarding Indochina, the BNF archives should be enough, complemented in case of need by a one week mission to Hanoï (Vietnam). Regarding Tunisia and Morocco, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Paris) will perhaps be needed in complement, and in the case of Algeria, which had a specific status as a French "département", the archives of the Ministry of Finance (Paris again).
Last, for British Western and Eastern Africa (Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast/Ghana, Nigeria; Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania), we will exploit the Colonial Blue Books available at the National Archives in London, in order to reach comparable estimates of the costs of colonization on the side of British public finance. To our knowledge, and according to Davis & Huttenback [1986], we should be able to construct such aggregate estimates without going to the countries (where most of the disaggregate data has been left, in contrast with the French case).

Again at the aggregate level, public finance and balance of payment series will also be compiled for the independent States emanating from the former French Empire, if only to provide a rough estimation of the extent to which debts that were still pending at the end of colonial era were honored.

Regarding private firms investment data, we will collect Paris stock exchange data for colonial companies and metropolitan firms operating overseas, primarily from the high-quality official stock exchange statistical reviews like "Bulletins de la Cote des Cours Officiels et Authentiques", "Décisions et Avis publiés par la Chambre Syndicale des Agents de Change" and "Annuaire des Agents de Change". The aim is to reach estimates of domestic private investment and of foreign investment flows, broken down by period and by colony. Colonies’ balance of payment data will also be compiled.

Statistical analysis and redaction

The database will be analyzed to assess the cost of the French Empire, the diversity of the sources of financing of the Empire, to evaluate the changes in the spatial and temporal allocations of public and private funds between colonies… Statistical analysis will focus on a comparative perspective between the French Empire and the British one.

Deliverables

Database dedicated to the French colonial empire public finance will be delivered to the public at the end of 2015.

One or two scientific articles will be written for economic history journals describing the costs of the French Empire and the level of public investment undertaken in each French colonial off-shoot, and commenting upon comparisons with the British in the case of Africa. These materials will also make between a third and a half of a book dedicated to the French colonization and published in French and English.

3.2.3 Task 3: Living Standards of Populations in Africa 1880-2000

Objectives

The third task touches upon a domain where quantitative data is very scarce: the living standards of indigenous populations in the colonial empires, and their evolution over the long run. For the cases of AOF, AEF and Madagascar, it will rely on the collection and analysis of individual data from the archives of the French army overseas.
Military archives make a very precious complementary source to household survey analyzed by Cogneau* and Rouanet* (see state of the art). Military archives are considerably more extended than Ivorian and Ghanaian surveys, in terms of space, variables and time. In the case of former AOF, about one million individual files of recruits are kept in the Bureau Central des Archives Administratives Militaires (BCAAM) in Pau (South-West France), covering the cohorts born between 1880 and 1940; perhaps another half million concerns AEF and Madagascar for the same period. These individual files concern drafted recruits, whether volunteers, named by the chiefs (mostly before 1919), or called into conscription for three years after a random draw on draft lists (after 1919). These individual files provide a wealth of information on living conditions: migrations between place of birth and place of residence at age 20, height stature, occupation, religion, ethnic group, and sometimes literacy. They can also be matched with regiment archives that contain medical exams: height again but also weight, thoracic capacity, visual and hearing capacity, illnesses and handicaps. We have been granted the official authorization for collecting these data by the Ministry of Defense since September 2009. We have already begun to sample and extract data for Côte d’Ivoire (1923-1960) and Dahomey (1894-1959), thanks to funding from the British Economic and Social Sciences Research Council (ESRC) obtained by Alexander Moradi*, as well as from Cepremap by Denis Cogneau*, following a precise sampling design and data collection plan [Cogneau*, Heyberger* & Moradi*, 2008].

The ANR funding will allow us to complete the data entry and construction for the whole AOF, and to extract an additional sample for AEF and Madagascar files as well (more details are given in the task description below).

These data will establish the first chronicle of health, migration and occupation of African populations in the French empire.

Person in charge

The team member responsible for this task will be Laurent Heyberger (U. Belfort) with the active support of Alexander Moradi (U. Sussex). Both researchers are quite experimented in the collection of military archives, in metropolitan France for the first [Heyberger*, 2003, 2005 & 2006], in British colonial Africa for the second [Moradi*, 2009; Austin, Baten & Moradi*, 2009]. Léa Rouanet will make part of her PhD thesis on these data and will bring a significant help in monitoring data collection.

Methodology and risk

The AOF, AEF and Madagascar conscripts individual files will be extracted from both the so-called "individual archives" (drafting registers) and the so-called "collective archives" (regiments medical exams), all located at Bureau Central des Archives Administratives Militaires (BCAAM) in Pau (South-West of France). Laurent Heyberger will be in charge of hiring and monitoring the research assistants who will take pictures of the files. For cost-
saving purposes, students in history or economics living in Pau will be selected for this part of the task (pictures taking).

Much attention will be devoted to the selection issues linked to fitness for duty decisions: we will in particular exploit very large and sudden variations in the number of drafted recruits at the beginning of the two World Wars (1913-14, 1938-39) to examine to what extent selection plays a role in observed evolutions. Even if, after 1919 at least, random selection from draft lists was supposed to be the rule, we will also consider the case for self-selection into service (volunteers) and out of duty (escapes, replacements, etc.) Last, the colonial chronicle of living conditions will be connected to the available survey data for the postcolonial period, in particular from Demographic and Health Surveys [http://www.measuredhs.com/], so as to reach a centennial view over the period 1900-2000 [like in Moradi* 2009 for Kenya; Austin, Baten and Moradi* 2009 for Ghana; and Cogneau* & Rouanet* 2009 for Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana].

**Detailed schedule**

**Extraction of AOF, AEF and Madagascar conscripts individual files**

Regarding Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF), this task should be almost completed in 2011, and will not be covered by the ANR funding, but rather by the British Economic and Social Sciences Research Council (ESRC) funding that Alexander Moradi has obtained for 2009-2012; this ESRC grant will cover about two thirds of the budget of task 2 data collection (see also section 6.1). A sample of more than 30,000 pictures of individual conscript files was first extracted from the archives on the cases of Cote d’Ivoire and former Dahomey (present-day Benin) by Cogneau*, Heyberger* and Moradi*. The picture taking process was then pursued by a hired research assistant (Jean-Loup Gazurelli), along the guidelines set by Cogneau*, Heyberger* and Moradi* [2008], and in accordance with the rules of anonymity and confidentiality set by the French law and on which we signed a formal agreement with the Ministry of Defense. About 100,000 pictures have now been collected, and data inputting by a Tunisian specialized firm (standard files after 1919) and research assistants (for files before 1919) should be completed by end-2011.

The ANR funding will allow to implement the same procedure for the cases of Afrique Equatoriale Française (AEF) and Madagascar, from picture, through data entry, to the construction of a full statistical database and, again, its matching with other sources. It will also cover a specific research in the série 4D of Archives Nationales (Paris) dedicated to the better understanding of the recruitment procedures of conscripts across the colonial period, and in particular about how fitness for duty was decided; these archive information are those that have been used by Echenberg [1991], who strikingly reports very high rates of unfit potential recruits [Cogneau*, Heyberger* & Moradi*, 2008].

**Compiling individual files and matching them with other databases**

The transformation of individual files pictures into a statistical database with one observation for each conscript and a vector of variables comprising place of birth and
residence, anthropometric and health data, occupation, religion, ethnicity, literacy, etc will be supervised by Alexander Moradi.

The ANR funding will help in completing the last data entry steps, the geo-referencing of places of birth and places of residence of conscripts, and the matching of these data with other databases: geographical, colonial investment, postcolonial surveys like DHS implemented periodically since then end-1980s in the former French and British colonies under review [like in Moradi*, 2009; Austin, Baten, Moradi*, 2009].

**Provision of an anonymous micro-database**

Like for the data collected in the second task, we will also document the anonymous database obtained from our sample of French colonial conscripts in AOF, AEF and Madagascar.

**Statistical analysis and redaction**

Finally, this task should lead to the establishment of a reliable chronicle of living conditions of indigenous populations across the regions of the former French empire throughout the colonial period, and even afterward, thanks to the connection made with DHS surveys. Apart from the selection issues just mentioned, this kind of statistical exercise will have to overcome a number of potential difficulties linked for instance to gender-biased evolution (conscription files are about males while the main DHS data are about females and mostly mothers), as well as to the interpretation of some figures that may not necessarily correspond to welfare improvements (like for instance forced rather than voluntary migration and diversification of occupations).

**Deliverables**

Anonymous database dedicated to the standard of living of indigenous populations in the French and British colonial empires. Provided that official authorization is granted from Ministry of Defense, this database will be made available to other researchers in 2015.

One scientific article will be written on West Africa well-being of local population during the colonization and after. This material will also produce a chapter in a book dedicated to the French colonization.

### 3.2.4 Task 4: Econometric Analytical Narratives of Long-term African Development

**Objectives**

The fourth task of the AFRISTORY project aims at producing original contributions to development economics, allowing better specifying the causal channels through which historical shocks exert a long-lasting influence on economic trajectories. It will be to construct both statistically and economically significant narratives about the impact of colonial rule and long-term development in Africa, using also postcolonial and contemporary data on various development outcomes. It will build on the new disaggregate data collected during
the two first tasks: district-level colonial investment and political climate in AOF, AEF and Madagascar, Ghana; individual files of conscripts and living conditions over the 20th century. We want to document several questioning: how to explain the persistence of early colonial investments in education, health or infrastructures [Huillery*, 2009a]? What are the respective roles of colonial investment and indigenous agency in the development of trade and of urbanization, and in the improvement of living conditions that have ensued? [Cogneau* & Rouanet*, 2009] Did postcolonial national integration take different roads in former French and former British colonies, when looking for instance at the production and distribution of public goods like education, health, or other kinds of infrastructures? [Cogneau* & Mesplé-Somps*, 2008; Bossuroy & Cogneau*, 2008; Cogneau*, Mesplé-Somps*, Spielvogel*, 2009] And if so, how divergent paths of colonial and postcolonial political economy could account for that? [as for instance hypothesized in Cogneau*, 2007]. We will also confront the influences of the colonial intervention per se with alternative explanatory channels: Atlantic slave trade and trust within societies [Nunn & Wantchekon, 2009], centralization of precolonial kingdoms [Gennaioli & Rainer, 2007], or mere geographical constraints [Bloom & Sachs, 1998].

Person in charge

The team member responsible for this task will be Sandrine Mesplé-Somps (UMR DIAL, IRD). She will in particular supervise the gathering of additional spatially disaggregated data needed for econometric analysis. She knows very well most of the living standard household surveys implemented in West African countries since the 80’s (Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, Ghana...).

Methodology and risk

In comparison with previous works on the impact of history on development, the new wealth of data produced by this project will increase the number of natural experiments available for causal inference, and will allow improving identification strategies by not relying only on spatial variation but also on changes across time of both policies and outcomes. For instance, when exploiting the discontinuities generated by the delineation of administrative boundaries [as in Cogneau*, Mesplé-Somps*, Spielvogel*, 2009; or Berger, 2009], we will be able to observe the evolution of outcomes both before and after these boundaries were set, or even, in some cases, moved, like when former German Togoland or Cameroon were split and shared between British and French mandates after 1919 (see thereafter).

The analyses listed in the objectives sub-section will be based on econometric analysis of micro-data matched with sub-national colonial and post-colonial data. They rely on natural experiments providing for causal inferences of the impact of colonial shocks on long-term development. In contrast with most of the present-day literature, they first will not be undertaken at the macro-level and, second will not only exploit the spatial variation in the data, but also its time dimension.
For illustrative purposes, let us just provide more details on one potential application. So, for instance, the conscript data collected in the second task as well as matched household survey data for the postcolonial period will make it possible to study the evolutions across time of height, religion, literacy or occupation on both sides of the borders between Ghana and its former French neighbors: Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina-Faso, Togo (and a bit further away, Benin). As these data will cover both the pre-1920 period (1880-1920), they will allow studying the consequences of the dismantlement of former German Togoland after World War 1, and its partition between British and French mandates. Thanks to the large size of conscripts samples, we will be able to focus on individuals born close to the relevant borders, and to contrast the impacts of British, German and French rules upon people sharing the same geographical and anthropological contexts; furthermore, thanks to the time dimension of the data, we will be able to compute the border discontinuities in trends (with respect to the trends in height, religion, literacy or occupation), before and after the exogenous change in boundaries, thus reaching a more reliable inference of causality (triple difference in trends rather than double differences in levels). Preliminary results with the Gold Coast regiment data (Cogneau & Moradi) show that this identification strategy can be implemented and that it provides suggestive results: no trend breaks between German and British rule, against large trend breaks in both evangelization and literacy between German/British and French rule. This study will benefit from task 3 complementary data on French conscripts in Côte d’Ivoire, Haute-Volta (present-day Burkina-Faso) and Dahomey, as well as from task 2 spatially disaggregated time series on education and health investments under French (former AOF) and British (former Gold Coast) rules. Postcolonial data from household surveys in the same countries will show whether colonial breaks are still visible in the form of discontinuities at borders, for instance in terms of educational achievements; and again preliminary results suggest that they do, for instance between former British Ghana and former French Togo. Pre-1960 and post-1960 cohorts will also be contrasted in order to see how different postcolonial policies have managed with the same colonial legacy within the former French Empire.

Detail schedule

Compiling database

The data provided by task 2 and task 3 will be matched with others characterizing both the colonial and postcolonial period at a disaggregate level (district or locality levels): detailed geographical data (rainfalls, hydrographic network, etc.), urbanization, drawing from the great job already done by the geographers of the e-Geopolis project [http://e-geopolis.eu/, 2009], production of cash crops like cocoa and coffee for the forest areas, cotton and peanuts in the Savannah areas. It will also take advantage of the wide database concerning the postcolonial period that was collected through previous works of the team members: population census data on urbanization and spatial structures; infrastructures; most importantly, large sample household surveys implemented between mid-1980s and beginning 2000s in a lot of countries of Western, Central and Eastern Africa, including
Madagascar, covering development outcomes such as income and occupation, health, education, migration, etc.; but also electoral data and political surveys.

These data are already available for public use or for sale, or else can be retrieved from accessible archive documents. The bulk of them have already been gathered through previous works of team members, so that the main task will be to complement them at the margin and then to match them with the data collected in the first and the second tasks (disaggregated colonial public investments and taxes; conscript files by place of birth or place of residence).

Econometric analysis and redaction

The bulk of this fourth task will consist in econometric analyses of the micro and meso database just previously described. The whole team will be involved in this task, and we plan to spend more than one year producing the statistical analysis.

Deliverables

At least, two scientific articles will be written in English on different topics but in a comparative perspective. Once these articles will be published and provided the official authorization, the dataset will be made available on the website of the AFRISTORY project.

A website will be dedicated to the project immediately at the beginning of the project. It will give information on the progress of the project, will make available first results of the project via a working paper series, and, finally will provide free of charge the whole databases in 2015.

3.3. CALENDRIER DES TACHES, LIVRABLES ET JALONS / Tasks schedule, deliverables and milestones

The following table summarizes the schedule of each task, as described in the previous sections. Each task is divided into steps that each correspond to a deliverable, whether it is historical archives data, descriptive statistical analysis or econometric papers. It also provides the dates of the five general meeting along the 42 months project duration.
**Projet AFRISTORY**  
**DOCUMENT SCIENTIFIQUE**

Programme Blanc  
Edition 2011

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* AOF already collected (ACI grant 2003-06)

** AOF already extracted (ESRC grant 2009-12)
4. STRATEGIE DE VALORISATION, DE PROTECTION ET D’EXPLOITATION DES RESULTATS / DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

As already mentioned, the project outputs will be:
- two statistical databases that will be made available to other researchers and the public by the year 2015;
- a book devoted to the economic aspects of the French colonization, with comparisons with the British rule, published both in French and in English;
- two scientific articles with a descriptive stance, deriving from the statistical analysis of data from tasks 2 and 3, dedicated to economic history journals, on the costs of the French Empire and on living conditions in Africa across the 20th century;
- three or four scientific articles with an econometric stance, deriving from the works of task 4, dedicated to economic journals (generalists or in the development economics field).

A project Website will be constructed and located at Paris School of Economics, on which visitors will find the description and advancement of the project, working papers, and some results snapshots dedicated to a wider audience than research.

Regarding the statistical data, some research assistance will be specifically dedicated to building well-documented and easily accessible electronic datasets. These datasets will be made available online to other users, mainly researchers, through the Web page of the project as well as some team members personal Web pages. The data on conscript files will of course be entirely anonymous, and its public delivery will be subject to the Ministry of Defense formal authorization.

The publication of the book, possibly as early as September 2014, will be advertised to a wide audience. It will hopefully offer the opportunity to present some of the results in newspapers or radio networks, and to bring new facts and new analyses into the public debate about the legacy of the colonial past in France and in former colonies. To help that purpose, a conference directed to policymakers and journalists could be organized around this book by Paris School of Economics, Cepremap and IRD.

Working papers will be presented in academic conferences in development economics: CEPR (London), CSAE (Oxford), EUDN (Paris) and others; and in economic history, like the World Economic History Conference held in Capetown (Sout-Africa) in August 2012.

Last, a closing scientific conference held in May-June 2014 will gather the team and some of the researchers in development economics and economic history that we listed in the state of the art section (2.1), as well as other contributors that we will have identified during the course of the project. This two-days conference will be dedicated the long-term economic history of developing countries. It will welcome the presentation of around ten or twelve papers, among which three or four will involve team members. It will enlarge the comparative stance of the project to developing areas outside of Sub-Saharan Africa, i.e. Mediterranean countries, Asia, or Latin America.
5. DESCRIPTION DU PARTENARIAT / CONSORTIUM DESCRIPTION

5.1. DESCRIPTION, ADEQUATION ET COMPLEMENTARITE DES PARTENAIRES / PARTNERS DESCRIPTION AND RELEVANCE, COMPLEMENTARITY

Although the research team may seem a bit scattered, almost all members already know each other, and all have already worked with the coordinator in the past. We chose to distinguish four partners in order to facilitate the logistics and the management of data collection, and in particular the supervision of research assistance.

Having Paris School of Economics (http://www.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/) as the leading partner in the consortium offers a number of advantages, apart from being the location and the main institutional affiliation of the coordinator Denis Cogneau. First, the research foundation status of PSE, its administrative staff and its infrastructure, should make relatively easy the management of the large research assistance we need for this project. Second, PSE has a well-established tradition in both development economics and economic history, as is testified by the very long life length of two international research seminars held twice monthly since years, as well as by the number of PhD thesis that belong to these two sub-disciplines. Three PSE doctoral students are indeed included in the team: Guilhem Cassan, Rémi Jedwab, and particularly Léa Rouanet whose PhD thesis subject is entirely within the AFRISTORY project. Guilhem Cassan has experience with data collection and analysis from British India colonial archives, while Rémi Jedwab is directly working on the long-term relationship between trade and urbanization in West Africa.. Furthermore, other high-quality master students could also be interested by the same kind of topics in the foreseeable future (like for instance two or three other students in master second year in 2011). Alexander Moradi, who is "the" foreign researcher of the team, has already visited Paris School of Economics in May 2009 and 2010 for a small conference dedicated to African economic history, and as a guest researcher of Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). He is also "the" specialist of military archives of British colonial Africa, as well as one the few young specialists of anthropometric data analysis in economic history and development economics.

The second partner is Elise Huillery at the department of economics of Sciences-Po (http://econ.sciences-po.fr/), where she teaches development economics. Sciences-Po puts interdisciplinarity between social sciences, and in particular economics and history at the core of its research project. Elise is a former PhD student of Paris School of Economics (supervisors Denis Cogneau & Thomas Piketty). Her PhD thesis was dedicated to the cost and to the impact of the French colonization, and she is among the team members the one who knows the best the French administrative colonial archives. This is why she is the best-suited for being responsible of task 1, and especially for supervising research assistants doing the archive extraction job for this task. After her postdoctoral experience at the Poverty Action Lab in Paris (dir. Esther Duflo), she developed a twofold research project, with one
strand dedicated to long-term history and economic development in Africa, and another strand dedicated to the microeconomic analysis of poor households behavior.

The third partner is again an individual: Laurent Heyberger at RECITS (http://recits.utbm.fr/) in Belfort-Montbéliard Technological University, which is a research unit dedicated to the social and economic history of technology. Laurent is a historian having a lot of experience in the analysis of anthropometric information derived from military conscription files in France (see references, annex 7). This specialty makes him very much suited to the supervision of task 2 data collection. For the part of this task that has already begun thanks to ESRC funding, he is supervising the research assistants involved in the extraction of conscript files held at Bureau Central des Archives Administratives Militaires (BCAAM, Pau). Denis Cogneau, Laurent Heyberger and Alexander Moradi have been working together since 2008 on this project of conscript files analysis.

Finally, the fourth partner is the Unité Mixte de Recherche DIAL, recently co-founded by Paris-Dauphine University and the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD). DIAL is a research unit dedicated to development economics (http://www.dial.prd.fr/). Before joining PSE, Denis Cogneau, who is directeur de recherche at IRD, was doing most of his research at DIAL, to which he is still associated. Sandrine Mesplé-Somps, the supervisor of task 3, is from IRD as well, and is also teaching and directing master theses in Paris School of Economics. She has a long experience on African economies, on both macro and micro aspects, and wide knowledge of available population census and household survey data for this region. In 2009, she was allocated the "prime d'excellence scientifique" by IRD. Gilles Spielvogel is a former PhD student of DIAL; after a work experience in OECD, he recently joined University Paris-1 (Chaire d'excellence Paris 1) and is still associate researcher in DIAL. He is specialized in economic geography and has a large experience of the handling and econometric analysis of geographical/spatial data. Between 2003 and 2006, Sandrine Mesplé-Somps, Gilles Spielvogel and Elise Huillery were part of the research team "Long-term history and Resources Distribution in Africa" directed by Denis Cogneau (Action Concertée Incitative funding, Ministry of Research).

5.2. Qualification du coordinateur de la proposition de projet/
Qualification of the proposal coordinator

The coordinator Denis Cogneau is senior research fellow at IRD (UMR DIAL) and associate professor at Paris School of Economics since 2008. At PSE and EHESS, his 24 hours research seminar is dedicated to "Growth, Distribution and Distribution in Developing Countries" since 2003. He is a researcher in development economics at IRD since 1991, and most of his works are applied to Africa. He is well inserted in the development economics international research community, begin member of the European Development Network (EUDN) and of the AMID (CEPR) Network. In 2008, he was chosen as a planning group member of the "Frontiers of Science 2008" program of the US National Academy of Science.
In 2009, he was allocated the "prime d’excellence scientifique" by IRD.

Between 2003 and 2007 he directed the research project "Long-term history and Resources Distribution in Africa", funded by an "Action Concertée Incitative" (ACI) of Ministry of Research, in which three of the team members participated. Parts of the results of this research project are published [Cogneau, 2007; Cogneau & Mesplé-Somps, 2008; Huillery, 2009a, 2010], the other part being on tracks for publication [submitted: Bossuroy & Cogneau, 2009; Cogneau, Spielvogel & Mesplé-Somps, 2010; Huillery 2009b]. This first experience has determined a twist in his research towards the economic history of Africa that gave rise to the present research project. He has already worked with most of the participants, and will involve in each of the three tasks of the project.

### 5.3. Qualification, Role et Implication des Participants / Qualification and Contribution of Each Partner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partenaire: PSE</th>
<th><a href="http://www.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/">http://www.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Coordinateur/responsable</td>
<td>COGNEAU Denis Directeur de recherche Economie 20 Senior Research Fellow &amp; Associate Professor in Development Economics Coordination (Task 1) All tasks Special.: Economics of Africa, economics of inequality, econometrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORADI Alexander Assistant Professor Economics 20 Lecturer in Development Economics Task 3 &amp; 4 Special.: Economics of Africa, Conscript files &amp; anthropometric data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASSAN Guilhem Doctorant Economie 12 Doctoral Student on British colonial India Task 2 &amp; 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEDWAB Rémi Doctorant Economie 12 Doctoral student on long-term economic history &amp; economic geography of West Africa Task 4</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Partenaire: Sciences-Po

| ROUANET | Léa | Doctorante | Économie | 24 | Master student on anthropometric outcomes in West Africa (survey data and military archives data) Tasks 3 & 4 |

Partenaire: Sciences-Po

http://econ.sciences-po.fr/

### Partenaire: RECITS

| HUILLERY | Elise | Assistant Professor | Économie | 12 | Assistant Professor in Development Economics Supervisor task 1 Tasks 2 & 4 Special.: Cost and economic impact of French colonization in West Africa |

Partenaire: RECITS

http://recits.utbm.fr/

### Partenaire: UMR DIAL

| HEYBERGER | Laurent | Maître de conférences | Histoire | 16 | Assistant Professor in history Supervisor task 2 Task 3 & 4 Special.: Conscript files & anthropometric data |

Partenaire: UMR DIAL

http://www.dial.prd.fr/

| MESPLE-SOMPS | Sandrine | Chargée de Recherche | Économie | 12 | Research Fellow in Development Economics Supervisor task 4 Tasks 3 & 4 Special.: Economics of Africa, Public goods in developing countries |

| SPIELVOGEL | Gilles | Maître de conférences | Économie | 12 | Assistant Professor in Development Economics All tasks Special.: Economic geography of developing countries |

### 6. Justification scientifique des moyens demandés / Scientific justification of requested resources
6.1. Partenaire 1 / Partner 1: Paris School of Economics

Regarding the third task of the project (i.e. the collection and first analysis of French colonial army conscript files), the non-permanent staff and subcontracting budgets will come as a complement to the one already funded by the British Economics and Social Sciences Research Council (ESRC) for the collection of French conscript files. The total ESRC budget granted to Alexander Moradi amounts to £ 242,804, i.e. around € 270,000. However a large amount in this budget is meant to buy out teaching time at Sussex University, as well as to pay for indirect costs like office rental and administration. Out of these € 270,000, a little more than one half, i.e. around € 125,000, can be said to directly fund data collection and analysis, of which one third are dedicated to British colonies (Sierra Leone and Kenya) not covered by the ANR budget. This leaves around € 83,000 for the collection and in-putting of 100,000 French conscript files in AOF, AEF and Madagascar. We computed that this task 3 data collection budget would need to be complemented by about one half, i.e. around € 41,000, in order to be able to complete the AEF and Madagascar part.

• Personnel / Staff

More than half of the requested budget is made of research assistance for data collection and construction; among this budget line, the second task should weight two thirds of the total. The extensive use of research assistance in this project has already been discussed in section 3.2 dedicated to the project management. It is important to emphasize once more that without such research assistance, the present project will not be possible and will not take place.

Regarding the second task, the research assistance will mainly help in the archive extraction and statistical compilation of the public finance and private investment data for the French colonial Empire and some African parts of the British Empire (colonial Blue Books). Our estimation of the needed workload for this task is 24 months of a full-time skilled (master or more), that we equally divide into 12 months at PSE (under Denis Cogneau supervision) and 12 months at Sciences-Po (under Elise Huillery supervision, see thereafter).

Regarding the third task, 3 months of research assistance at PSE will mainly help in putting the conscript files databases in a documented and econometrically exploitable state, under Denis Cogneau and Alexander Moradi supervision. Remember that two thirds of the budget of this task are already funded by ESRC (see above).

Last, regarding the fourth task, 6 months will likewise be dedicated to data formatting and first econometric analyses.

The research assistants required will have at least a master level in applied economics, for a monthly labor cost of 4000 euros, in order to be able to hire skilled and motivated individuals.

• Prestation de service externe / Subcontracting
Subcontracting funds will be directed to the data in-putting of conscript files pictures for AEF and Madagascar by specialized firms. We estimated that around 7 months of work paid a monthly €2,500 would be needed to enter around 50,000 files, for an average rate of 7,500 pictures per month. This not completely unskilled work: conscript files template are not completely standardized and may vary a bit across time; they are filled with handwriting hence calling for some capacity to decipher hand-written French and African names for persons or for places. This work will be supervised by Alexander Moradi, who already has experience with that kind of subcontracting firms, and who is already negotiating with them for the first wave of AOF conscript files, under the ESRC grant. Remember that two thirds of the budget of this task are already funded by ESRC (see above).

As the book dedicated to French colonization will be published in both French and English language, and hence will be first written in French, some translation services and English editing will be needed, that we estimated at around €20,000 net of taxes.

• Missions / Missions

A relatively small amount of missions is planned for visits to historical archives in former French colonies, and is shared equally between PSE and Sciences-Po for task 2.

• Autres dépenses de fonctionnement / Other expenses

We applied a rate of €100 per person.month to estimate the total amount of current research expenses and a fixed allocation of €2,000 for supervision. The rest of the amount (60%, i.e. around €9,000 net of taxes) is meant to finance travels and accommodation for the team meetings (2 team members living outside of Paris) and for the closing conference participants.

6.2. Partenaire 2 / partner 2: Sciences-Po Department of Economics

• Personnel / Staff

The bulk of the budget is made of one year full-time skilled research assistance for data collection and construction related to the second task (see 6.1).

• Missions / Missions

A relatively small amount of missions is planned for visits to historical archives in former French colonies, and is shared equally between PSE and Sciences-Po for task 2.

• Autres dépenses de fonctionnement / Other expenses
We applied a rate of € 100 per person.month to estimate the total amount of current research expenses and a fixed allocation of € 2,000 for supervision.

6.3. Partenaire 3 / partner 3: Recits Universite Technologique Belfort-Montbeliard

- Personnel / Staff

The bulk of the budget is made of seven months of research assistance for taking pictures of conscript files for AEF and Madagascar at the Bureau Central des Archives Administratives Militaires in Pau. Hired research assistants will have at least a master degree in social sciences; monthly gross wages have been set at € 3,000. They will be students living in Pau, in order to save travel and accommodation expenditures. These research assistants will be hired, trained and monitored by Laurent Heyberger. Remember that two thirds of the budget for this task is already funded by ESRC (see above).

- Missions / Missions

Travels and accommodation in Pau (South-West France).

- Autres dépenses de fonctionnement / Other expenses

We applied a rate of € 100 per person.month to estimate the total amount of current research expenses and a fixed allocation of € 2,000 for supervision.

6.4. Partenaire 4 / partner 4: UMR DIAL Universite Paris Dauphine-IRD

- Personnel / Staff

Here again, the bulk of the budget is made of 6 months of skilled research assistance for the data gathering and preparation of task 4. The research assistants required will have at least a master level in applied economics, for a monthly labor cost of € 4,000, in order to be able to hire skilled and motivated individuals.

- Missions / Missions

A relatively small amount of missions (€ 3,000) is planned for trips on the field, to gather postcolonial data on public finance or investments in infrastructure.

- Autres dépenses de fonctionnement / Other expenses

We applied a rate of € 100 per person.month to estimate the total amount of current research expenses and a fixed allocation of € 2,000 for supervision.
7. Annexes / Annexes

7.1. References Bibliographiques / References

Team members (signaled by a star within the text)


Other references


Bloch-Lainé, François, 1956. La Zone franc, Paris, P.U.F.


Dell, Melissa, 2009. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita", mimeo, MIT.


Jeanneney, 1963


7.2. Biographies / CV, resume
COGNEAU Denis
46 ans

Diplômes :

Situation actuelle :
Directeur de recherche de deuxième classe à l’IRD, UMR 225, DIAL, Paris.
Associate Professor at Paris School of Economics (PSE).
Member of European Development Network (EUDN), AMID (CEPR) Network, and
associate of CEPREMAP.

Autres expériences professionnelles :
financé par l’ACI « Sociétés et cultures dans le développement durable »
1998-2005 Consultant dans 5 programmes d’étude du Centre de Développement de l’OCDE.
1987-1990 Chargé d’études en sociologie au Ministère de la Culture (France).

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années :
(2) “Commodity Price Shocks and Child Outcomes: The 1990 Cocoa Crisis in Côte
(4) “The measurement of poverty dynamics when demographics are correlated with

Nombre total de publications :
Revues internationales ou actes de congrès à comité de lecture : 7
Revues françaises à comité de lecture : 17
Chapitres d’ouvrages : 19 dont 7 en anglais

Prix et distinctions :
- Planning group member in “Frontiers of Science USA-France 2008” of National Academy of
Science (NAS) and CNRS
- Prime d’excellence scientifique IRD 2009-2012
CASSAN Guilhem

28 ans

Diplômes

Situation actuelle
Doctorant à Paris School of Economics, supervisor Sylvie Lambert.

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années

Publications
Chapitres d’ouvrages : 2 dont 1 en anglais

Prix et distinctions
- Membre du réseau European Doctoral Program in Quantitative Economics.
- Membre du réseau Actors, Markets, Institutions and Development.
HEYBERGER Laurent

34 ans

Diplômes
CAPES d’histoire-géographie, 1999.

Situation actuelle
Maître de conférences (22e section) à l’Université de technologie de Belfort-Montbéliard, laboratoire RECITS, EA 3897, Belfort.

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années
(1) *L’histoire anthropométrique*, Berne, Peter Lang, à paraître en janvier 2011, collection « Populations, famille et société ».

Publications
Revues internationales ou actes de congrès à comité de lecture : 4 (dont un en anglais et un en allemand)
Revues françaises à comité de lecture : 7
Chapitres d’ouvrages : 8 dont 1 en anglais
Direction ou coordination d’ouvrages et de revues : 7
Ouvrages personnels : 3

Prix et distinctions
-Lauréat du prix Martin Bucer (2006) décerné par le Chapitre de Saint-Thomas (prix destiné à récompenser un travail universitaire de haut niveau à l’Université de Strasbourg) pour la thèse soutenue en 2004
HUILLERY Elise
33 ans

Diplômes
PhD, Paris School of Economics, EHESS, Paris, 2008
Masters in Economics, EHESS, 2002
Masters in Management, HEC, 2001
BA in Philosophy, University of Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 1999

Situation actuelle
Assistant Professor, Département d’économie, Sciences Po, Paris
Lab Affiliate, J-PAL-Europe, Paris
Associate Researcher, DIAL-IRD and CEPREMAP

Autres expériences professionnelles
2008-2009: Postdoctoral Researcher, J-PAL, Paris
2006-2008: Lecturer in Economics, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années

Publications
International Peer-Reviewed Journals: 2

Prix et distinctions
- Post-Doctoral Fellowship, JPAL, 2008-2009
- Doctoral Fellowship, EHESS, 2003-2006
JEDWAB Rémi
27 ans

Diplômes

Situation actuelle
Doctorant « Analyse des Politiques Economiques », Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris School of Economics. Allocataire de Recherche, Université Paris I. Supervisor Denis Cogneau

Autres expériences professionnelles
2011-2012 : Etudiant invité, London School of Economics, UK.
2009-2010: Etudiant invité, programme “Actors, Markets, Development and Institutions”, London School of Economics, UK.

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années

Publications
International Peer-Reviewed Journals: 1
MESPLE-SOMPS Sandrine
43 ans

Diplômes
1996: post-doctoral research fellow, University Laval, Québec, Canada.
PhD in Economics, University of Paris 1, 1995.

Situation actuelle
Research fellow (CR1), Institute of Research for Development (IRD), UMR 225 DIAL
Université Paris Dauphine / IRD, Paris.
Associate researcher, CEPREMAP, G-Mond Paris School of Economics.
Teaching activities (Master degree) at the Paris School of Economics, University of Paris-
Dauphine and University Paris-I IEDES.

Autres expériences professionnelles
2009-2005: Teaching activities, University of Marne La Vallée.
2007-2008: Teaching activities, University of Paris 1.

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années
(1) "Transferts de fonds des migrants, pauvreté et inégalités au Mali. Analyse à partir de
trois scénarii contrefactuels", with F. Gubert and T. Lassourd, Revue Economique, 61(6)
November 2010.
(2) “Measuring inequalities: do household surveys paint a realistic picture?” Review of
Income and Wealth, with C. Guénard, 56(3) September 2010, 519-538.
(3) "Les transferts monétaires des migrants sont-ils plus efficaces que l’aide publique
pour améliorer la santé des enfants ? Une évaluation empirique sur des données inter et intra
pays”, with L. Chauvet and F. Gubert, Revue d’Economie du Développement, n°4 décembre
2009, 41-80.
(4) “Consumption growth and spatial poverty traps: an analysis of the effect of social
services and community infrastructures on living standards in rural Peru”, with P. De Vreyer
and J. Herrera, in Klasen S. (ed), Poverty, Inequality and Policy in Latin America, CESifo Series,
(5) “Inequality of Opportunity for Income in Five Countries of Africa”, with D. Cogneau,
in Bishop, J. and Buhong, Z (eds) Research on Economic Inequality, Volume 16, 99-128, Emerald

Publications
International refereed journals: 5 - French refereed journals: 11 - Book chapters: 5

Prix et distinctions
Prime d’excellence scientifique IRD 2009-2012
MORADI Alexander
35 ans

Diplômes
Doctorat en économie, University of Tuebingen, Germany, 2005.
Diplôme d’Economiste, University of Munich, Germany, 2000.

Situation actuelle
Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Sussex, UK
Associate Member of Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford

Autres expériences professionnelles
2005-2008 Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, UK
2000-2004 Research Associate, Department of Economics, University of Tuebingen, Germany

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années

Publications
Revues internationales ou actes de congrès à comité de lecture : 6
Chapitres d’ouvrages : 4 en anglais

Prix et distinctions
- ESRC First Grant Scheme (£242,804) for the project “Human Development under Colonial Rule in West Africa: Exploitation, Modernization and Legacies” (RES-061-25-0456)
- British Academy Small Research Grant (£6,812) for the project on “Living Standards in Ghana, 1870-2000: An Anthropometric Approach” (SG-45045)
ROUANET Léa
24 ans

**Diplômes**

**Situation actuelle**
Mission d’enseignement à l’Université René Descartes, Paris V.

**Autres expériences professionnelles**
2008-2009: Stage de recherche de neuf mois au Laboratoire d’Economie Appliquée.
2008 : Stage de quatre mois à la Banque Centrale Européenne, division Statistiques.
2007 : Stage de terrain dans l’Institution de Microfinance WAGES à Lomé, Togo.

**Working Paper**
SPIELVOGEL Gilles
32 ans

Diplômes

Situation actuelle
Maitre de conférences en économie à l’Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, UMR Développement et Sociétés (Paris 1 - IRD).
Chercheur associé à l'UMR DIAL (Paris Dauphine - IRD).

Autres expériences professionnelles
2004-2006 : Attaché temporaire d'enseignement et de recherches à l'Université de Lille 2.

Cinq publications les plus significatives les cinq dernières années

Publications
Revues françaises à comité de lecture : 2
Chapitres d’ouvrages : 4

Prix et distinctions
7.3. Implication des personnes dans d’autres contrats / Staff involvement in other contracts

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<th>Part.</th>
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<th>Personne, mois</th>
<th>Intitulé de l’appel à projets</th>
<th>Source de financement</th>
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<tr>
<td>N°1</td>
<td>Alexander Moradi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ESRC First Grant Scheme</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Council</td>
<td>£ 242,804 (of which £ 74,584 dedicated to French conscripts data collection, ie 1st steps of task 2 here)</td>
<td>Human Development under Colonial Rule in West Africa: Exploitation, Modernization and Legacies</td>
<td>Alexander Moradi</td>
<td>10/2009-09/2012</td>
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